

WILSON WOULD BE AUTOCRAT, ASSERTS KNOX

Republicans in Senate
Openly Attack Presi-
dent's Policies.

FREE TRADE IS ISSUE

President Says Debated Clause
Leaves Nations Free to
Frame Policies.

Special Dispatch to The Sun.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 28.—The appeal of President Wilson for a Democratic Congress induced a violent reaction in the Senate to-day. Dropping the restraint heretofore exercised in the discussions of national and international affairs the Republicans brought an enflaming fire to bear directly on the President.

For the first time the underlying motives of his action as President were subjected to the criticism that he was making the war against autocracy the excuse for setting up his own particular autocracy. That the Republicans should commit the United States to a policy of international free trade and that in diametrical opposition to the announced post-war policy of the Allies he was striving to attain the end that friend and enemy should receive the same treatment in the adjustments of the period after the war.

To the Republican counter-offensive launched against the President the Democrats responded that the President had no autocratic ambitions, but on the other hand that his course proved he was entirely worthy of trust as the preeminent apostle of world democracy. They admitted that the President's policy of Germany and her allies after the war would be in accordance with that given all other nations so far as their interpretation of the President's statements led them to understand.

Sets Pace for Campaign.

To-day's battle in the Senate was the dominating feature in the political situation here. It was virtually a concentration of the entire campaign on both sides, fought out in the Senate with the prospects of its continuing and subsequent sessions between now and election day, and the certainty of its development along similar lines in the battle throughout the country.

The Republican charge that the President was striving to impose his personal will instead of the will of the American people in the peace program was met by the Democrats with a counter-charge that the President had submitted his peace program to a joint session of Congress nine months ago in the constitutional method and that the approval had been well-nigh unanimous, justifying the President in his assumption that he was representing the will of the country.

Senator Pittman (Nev.), avowing that the President's object was a peace of justice and humanity, made a bitter attack on Senator Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt, in each case charging that the President had aroused anger and contempt. He charged Col. Roosevelt with having made the Liberty Loan campaign an occasion for spreading Republican propaganda. Senator Pittman was plainly acting as the White House spokesman in the assault made on Col. Roosevelt, whom he deemed the Republicans would have to take as their next Presidential candidate whether they wanted him or not.

Tumulty Writes Letter.

The Capital was not alone in political activity, the White House contributing its daily quota. Joseph P. Tumulty, private secretary to the President, made public another long letter to the Cuyahoga County Republican Committee, Cleveland, Ohio, giving more details of Republican appeals in 1919 for the election of a Republican majority to Congress, and citizens are expected to appeal for the action of the President in appealing for a Democratic Senate and House.

To this and the repeated statement that Abraham Lincoln furnished the same precedent, the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee had a detailed answer.

Republicans now are certain that the reaction from the President's appeal is very largely in their favor. Republican Senators to-day were fairly deluged with letters condemning the President's course and promising their active support to Republican candidates. Chairman Fessenden of the Congressional Committee received 442 letters in one mail, nearly every one containing unqualified campaign contributions.

The sender of one of these contributions, said Representative Fess, "stated that this was the first political contribution he had ever made and stated that he implored to contribute was the President's letter and nothing else."

Knox Precipitates Debate.

Senator Knox (Pa.) precipitated the debate in the Senate with a careful speech of warning against the tendency of national affairs to repose too great responsibility upon one individual. He said:

"The separation of the two tasks, of ascertaining when the prime war aim of this nation has been achieved and of accepting or rejecting one by one the multitudinous corollaries and subsidiary war aims that have been proposed—and many of them are adventurous and questionable—is heightened by the fact that it has been sought to make this mass of clustering ideas a part of the new game by linking them with tentative discussions with the enemy, and, secondly, because the array of ideas referred to has not been tested by any attempt to supplement them in the form of concrete, practicable stipulations. Upon all these things the Senate as trustees of a large share of the people's authority should frame treaties has the appalling responsibility of being prepared any day to pass."

The extensive intermingling of the problem of a victorious ending of the war with a great variety of projects of world reconstruction renders our task

as I have said, most difficult. As a co-ordinate branch of this Government it is our duty, I believe, to make clear the Senate's sense of the immediate necessity of clarification and simplification of any program that the will of the nation in the war or the building of the future, and the Senate's sense of the instant necessity of full counsel and accord upon all such programs between the Government of the United States and the Governments of our allies.

Must Clarify Policies.

"And there is a necessity that underlies these needs. That is a classification for the Senate itself of the policies to which it may be called upon later to consider giving its sanction. In this matter we are guardians of the nation's mandates and we cannot be false."

"Some days ago there was made on this floor the preposterous suggestion that the Senate ratify in advance whatever might be the will of the Chief Executive. This reference was to a recent resolution by Senator J. Ham Lewis (Ill.) The Lewis measure had never been seriously considered by any body in the Senate, but nevertheless it is before the Foreign Relations Committee. Senator Knox continued: "A few days ago the country was astounded and shocked to find that Chief Executive calling for the election of Democratic Senators and Representatives precisely in order that his individual authority should be untrammelled by counsel. I pass by the unjust, not to say outrageous, implications of that unique document of partisan politics. That the two proposals should be associated themselves in the mind is, I regret to say, due to the proneness of some Senators and Representatives to make themselves mere registrars of the will of the Chief Executive instead of independent deliberators upon the country's problems."

No Time to Abandon Views.

"When there is talk of the abdication of the President, it is a peculiar moment to propose that the American people should abdicate their right to have opinions, or that the Senate and the House should abdicate their sworn and independent duties."

"I ask Senators whether it is the will of the American people or the will of the President to determine the policy of the United States in the two matters of ending this war and founding a future peace. I ask them whether they propose to submit the interests of the American people to their independent judgment or whether they are content for their conscience and their conscience for the rest of the world to be determined by the will of one man. This is the issue before us."

The abdication of their constitutional duties of independent judgment by the Senate or by the House spells autocracy. No more; no less. If Democratic members are for such abdication, if they are content to let the Republican Congress legislate in non-partisan independent scrutiny of proposed policies, in insistence upon information and upon rightful share of the will of the American people, the termination of the course of the American Government at this most grave and difficult time then truly the coming elections have laid the American people a transcendent importance."

Wilson's Changes of Policy.

"During the period from 1914 until today Senators will remember the President has expressed, and always with the approval of the Senate, a possible variety of ideas and attitudes upon the nature of the war, upon America's relation to the war, what is now most important, upon the peace program. I need not weary you with recital of how the President has changed his mind. The words I used are perfectly clear to any honest mind. They leave every nation free to determine its own economic policy, except in the particular of its policy must be the same for all other nations and not be compounded of hostile discriminations between one nation and another, such weapons of discrimination being left to the joint action of the nations for the purpose of disciplining those who will not submit to the general program of justice and equality."

"Senators need not assume," Senator Hitchcock continued, "that the President is going to negotiate a treaty and force it through the Senate. They know very well that a treaty before it can go into effect must have the approval of two-thirds of the Senate."

Senator Hitchcock then read into the record letters between the President and Chairman Simmons of the Finance Committee in which the President stated in other words the same idea he expressed in his letter to Senator Hitchcock.

Problem of German Trade.

"Would that letter not prevent a discrimination by the United States against goods produced in Germany?" asked Senator Brandegee (Conn.).

"It would," said Senator Hitchcock, "it leaves that to the League of Nations, in war and with which we will be associated afterward. The President would feel that that is an international matter involving the peace of the world and should be left to the League of Nations."

"Of course it is an international matter," said Senator Brandegee, "and as the Senate will be called upon to ratify the treaty by which the war is settled it becomes pertinent that the Senate should understand what is meant by those various theories on these various points."

Senator Brandegee then asked Senator Hitchcock in this colloquy and his pinning to the

question of their country? Or are we to have a complete people, intellectually indolent, lazily acquiescent, looking for masters and not for leaders? Which is the true American? Which type is the Senate to reflect in its action and thought on behalf of the nation?"

Senator Hitchcock (Neb.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, at once plunged into the debate on the side of the President. "The anxiety of the Senator from Pennsylvania seems to be that the President will take in his own hands the decision of the settlement of this war," said Senator Hitchcock. "It seems to me the course of recent history indicates that the President has pursued the natural and logical course. January 8 the President came before the joint session of Congress and delivered a message in which he boiled down into fourteen propositions what he deemed to be the minimum essentials of peace terms which the United States should insist upon. Almost as with one voice Senators and Representatives, Republicans and Democrats, here and throughout the country, newspapers of both parties and of all parties, acclaimed that declaration of the terms of American peace as a correct statement of the attitude of the United States."

"Now I want to refer to the present partisan effort on the part of the Republican party and its responsible leaders to the position of Article III of the President's declaration of peace terms."

Quotes Campaign Document.

From a document issued by the National Republican Congressional Campaign Committee October 21 Senator Hitchcock then read the statement that "The Democratic party is committed to a free trade policy." He quoted Article III of the President's proposals relating to the "removal as far as possible of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its means."

"That was a misrepresentation of Article III," said Senator Hitchcock. "It was an attempt to make political capital by the statement that the President was endeavoring to put into a treaty a permanent commitment of the United States for free trade."

Senator Hitchcock then quoted Representative Cannon (Ill.), Representative of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, who had commended the President's address in newspaper interviews.

Senator Pittman (Neb.) followed Senator Hitchcock. His speech was almost wholly political in character. He picked Col. Roosevelt, ex-President Taft and Chairman Hays of the Republican National Committee as the principal spokesmen of his assault. He said that even now Republicans were looking on Col. Roosevelt as their party head and certain standard bearer in the coming campaign.

The debate, which transcended in acerbity anything during the last three weeks of bitter interchanges, was concluded by a hostile tariff to discipline a nation where it is engaged in controlling the peace of civilization," Senator Hitchcock responded.

In his letter to the Cleveland Republican Committee Mr. Tumulty pointed out that President McKinley at Boone, Ia., on October 11, 1898, said: "This is no time to make a political capital out of the war. I would have you remember anything I have said in these desultory remarks it would be to remember at this critical hour in the nation's history that we must not be divided. The triumphs of the war are yet to be written in the articles of peace."

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admission that tariff adjustments which would practically insure the enemy nations equal rights with our allies in future into national trade relations was clinched by Senator Penrose, who followed with:

"Do I understand the Senator to say that the determination of an American tariff is an international matter?" "No, Mr. Sen. at all," quite the opposite," replied Senator Hitchcock. "An American tariff is a matter for an American Congress. But the use of the term as a hostile war measure is a matter for the League of Nations."

"Then I understand that the League of Nations is to have some kind of a right to pass upon whether an American tariff is equitable to all nations or not," said Senator Penrose.

Calls Hitchcock Obsolete Too.

"Not at all," replied Senator Hitchcock. "The Senator from Nebraska is just as obsolete to my mind as the President of the United States is to the League of Nations," retorted Senator Penrose.

"I ask the question in entire good faith," insisted Mr. Penrose. "Will the Senator enlighten me as to this point? Under the President's economic theory when peace among the nations of the world is declared would the United States have the right to make a more favorable economic agreement with the Allies than with Germany?"

"The United States would have the right to make any tariff it pleased without the whole world," answered Mr. Hitchcock, "but if the treaty is made and Great Britain, France and Italy and our other associates agree to it it would then be improper for the United States to adopt any tariff which would be practically commercial war against any nation in the world."

"Then German goods would come in on the same equality as the goods of the Allies who have fought and bled with us?" "That does not follow," returned Mr. Hitchcock.

"It comes very near following. I am glad," smoked the Senator out," replied Senator Penrose.

"It follows that the League of Nations will take jurisdiction over the question of a hostile tariff to discipline a nation where it is engaged in controlling the peace of civilization," Senator Hitchcock responded.

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